contact with water which symbolizes "the victory of Faro over Mousso Koroni in the matter of family names" is a prefiguration of name-giving.

As soon as the patriarch hears of the birth, he comes and shakes the family pembele over the child's head, three or four times according to the sex, in order to pass on to him the nyama and the qualities of the deceased person from whom he has inherited the ni and the dya. Then, he brings the family altar kere la boli ni into the house of the woman who has just given birth and places it before him. Crouching upon the ground, with fingers spread over the object, he pronounces the following prayer: "You, boli, make me a chief, so that my family prospers, a child is /178/ born, his soul is entrusted to you; I invoke you, boli, night and day" (1).

1. Bolí tigi i ka masaya kanu ñe, de wolo la, a ni kalifa be i la, ngo boli ñu ani kle.

Holding the child on his knees, he places the object on its chest for three consecutive times. Repeating the prayer, he next cuts the throat of a red rooster over the open sac, dips the right index into the blood, and, depending upon whether it is a boy or a girl, makes three or four crosses on the forehead of the newborn who thus becomes the "son of the boli," bolí dé.

A white sea shell, krokrodya (2), is placed before the newborn

2. Cardita vingens.

and gently moved about to "condense his dya within him." Then it is tied to the child's foot for three or four days according to its sex. At the same time, the mother who is entrusted with the child's dya until the name-giving ritual, adorns herself during the eight days following the birth with a collar (madya, "dya of the person") made from the odoriferous root of the tree bearing the same name. She will wear it until the child takes its first steps so as to protect it and to recall that she herself carried the soul of the newborn.

The name is given on the eighth day by the chief of the Komo. Under the dubale, a tree which shelters the village meetings, the elders assemble around the Komo altars which have been carried to the spot (3). If it is a first son, the father gives one hundred kola nuts,

778 emanating from the person or object impregnated with magic
789 force acts as if it were a part of that person or object. Often
[788] the magician or [154] ritual officiant spits on the person or object involved in the rites. This is a means of transferring one person's fluid to another.

751 Conversely, it is vital to know how to avoid contact with, or even emanations from, a maleficent magic force.
789 That is the reason for the great number of mysterious magic
754 practices and the secret of the innumerable amulets that form so many shields, to be placed presumably where they will best protect against any blow. Therefore it is the magician's prerogative to make amulets and to prescribe the conduct necessary to preserve their efficacy.

It should be noted that protection set up against a given person is good only for him and is useless against a successor, for instance. The chronicle tells us that Bani, chief of Samba-Nyana, was successful in using certain artifices to prevent Ma-n-son from conquering him. But, kept in ignorance of Ma-n-son's death and having taken no precautions against Da, Ma-n-son's son and successor, Bani was conquered by Da, against whom his artifices availed nothing.

If one is caught in spite of precautions, what is to be done? Everyone is afflicted in one way or another in any event. A Bambara is always inclined to believe in some sort of supernatural intervention. He has on hand some sort of remedy, but more often he resorts to a "seer" for guidance or, if the case requires, to a magician's skill.

Native medicine is a mass of magic formulas and of remedies strikingly reminiscent of the pharmacopeia of the Middle Ages (see, in the foregoing, father Niany's operations).

[571] The individual does not live as an isolated unit but
789 rather as an integral part of a community. In the society in
783 which he lives, however restricted it may be, he progressively occupies various situations. On both physical and moral levels, he undergoes changes and, depending on circumstances, whether fortunate or unfortunate happenings, changes take place within him. In short, his magic potential varies. These variations are always believed to concern the entire milieu, upon which they may (in the case of illness or death) have disastrous effects.

844 good taste. The placenta is buried outdoors near the hut or sometimes in the floor of the hut itself. The mother is washed and often given an infusion to drink which is alleged to stop bleeding.

The baby is washed several times and then anointed with vegetable fat (1) (se tlu) or butter made from cow's milk. Its

1. Known to Europeans as karite, originally a Soninké word.

head is massaged to give it a nice shape, and then the baby is wrapped in a white cloth.

The child is usually not fed for the first 24 hours, although it is sometimes given a few drops of goat's milk, a beverage with mystical qualities. It is then given the breast.

851 At the earliest possible moment the father must be informed of the birth and sex of the child. Indeed, he is brought in by the woman who cut the cord, and the mother shows him the baby, pointing out any body characteristic which seems to her a manifest sign that the child is a reincarnation [211] of a deceased member of the family or other evidence that there has been some influence from the invisible world.

[203] The same woman informs the local authorities (dugu-tigi, nyana-n-son-na-ba, etc.) and the people in the vicinity; the news spreads rapidly.

846 The mother resumes her normal activities as soon as possible and is often on her feet within 24 hours. In any event, she never remains in bed for more than a week, unless it is absolutely impossible for her to get up. For seven or eight days, however, she remains in seclusion. Furthermore, particularly in Kaarta, her food is prepared exclusively by girl friends of her choice.

[751] The detachment of the umbilical cord marks the end of this period of seclusion. In Kaarta the cord is preserved and placed in a small bag which is tied around the baby's neck; later on it will be made into a precious talisman. It is only after the detachment of the cord that the child is considered to be definitely

789 Animals also have gnâma, and the gnâma of birds are among
778 those most feared. By preference, they attack little children, who
825 die in convulsions as a result; it is impossible to mistake the cause
753 of their illness and death, since the hands and feet of the child curl up like a bird's claws. Birds are thought to be especially wicked in winter time, undoubtedly because they nest, find plenty of food, and
[751] are big, fat, and vigorous. During that season mothers tie around the necks of nursing infants a string that has nine knots in it, which places them under the protection of their gnâma. Birds keep their gnâma even when dead, and I remember that in November or December, 1907, all the village of Songhobougou attributed a small influenza epidemic to the death of a big black bird (the djougo), which a European killed in one of their fields. "We have pains in our kidneys, we have pains in our throats, and we cough," they said dismally, "and the hunter is to blame for it all. Toubabou ko té vva? A ye djougo do fa en ka forola, djougo gnâma dó.... It is the European's fault, he killed a djougo in our fields and we are weighed down with gnâma." /29/

Chapter 2

Animism and Its Consequences

1. The Beliefs about Spirits

776 The Bambara has not deified the forces of nature. Although in some instances he shows them respect and fears them, he leaves them without priest, /sacrificial/ victim, or altar: he is not a "nature worshipper" in the strict sense of the word; his true religion is animism. His spiritualism knows no bounds and he sees genii just about everywhere. The bush is full of these spirits; they lodge in the trees or lounge astride branches; they run around the outskirts of villages; splash in ponds and wells; they pull themselves onto high rocks,

152 After all, what can one do about an evil that cannot be exorcised except to bear it? What can one do against a powerful being that cannot be disarmed? Nevertheless, in the depth of his being he feels a need to enjoy himself (and enjoyment for him consists in drinking, eating, sleeping, and procreating); therefore he feels a horror of all suffering and neglects nothing that can protect him from it. In order 751/ to live in peace, he reddens everything a little with blood and covers 789 his body with grigris or good-luck charms, with talismans that change the course of things and even of nature, and lastly amulets which will forearm him against poison, help him avoid an accident, cause the sorcery of the malicious to miscarry, send away the gnâma of the genii, of the living and the dead, and prevent the unknown forces which are found more or less everywhere in nature from taking hold of the wearer. For this protection they address themselves to the priests of the djiné and the boli, and especially to the sorcerers who have close contacts with the genii and are the mediators between man and the entire invisible world.

776 Since the Bambara conceived the visible and invisible world as 782 similar to what he believes himself to be, he has come to believe quite naturally and without any effort that the genii can be seen and conversed with their language understood and, finally, that it is possible to subjugate the forces of nature and hold them in one's power. By making offerings and sacrifices or causing them to be made through the intermediary of a priest, he can win a spirit's favor and thus lessen his fears and terrors. But if the spirit is weak, they will be ready to withdraw their attentions; it must be equal to the one feared and if possible outdo it.

778 It is force, or, to use their term, fanga, that governs each 791 person's conduct toward his neighbor; to be obeyed, a man must first cause himself to be feared, and only a powerful man will succeed and see everything yield before him. /34/

The Negroes have seen people of low birth and poor family succeed in increasing their property and become rich to the point of where they have servants and slaves and dominate a whole village, a whole tribe, or a whole people. Since they like to reason from

755 hoof or in an ox's horn; these horns and hoofs /46/ are often decorated with cauri, and from time to time the blood of a victim is poured on them. If a disease is a force, a power which torments human beings, the remedy is another force, another power which is opposed to the first and fights against it. In order to obtain the good graces of this second force as well as its efficacy, people feed it with blood. The kana is of general use; it cures all ills a little, and just as each boli fetish possesses a korti, or harmful powder, enclosed in a horn, so also it possesses its kana, or healing remedy. Since there are as many different kana as there are fetishes, and since, independent of these, the sorcerers also have theirs, the kana are legion and cannot be counted. It is impossible to say what goes into the making of a kana, and the Negroes themselves do not know; they know that charcoal powder goes into it, and that is all. A sorcerer of Kolo. n. kolona, much consulted for orchitis, varicocele, etc., etc., uses glow worms dried in the sun and crushed with a handful of wood charcoal.

[752] Wounds resulting from a bruise caused by a blow or a fall are treated by throwing a handful of ashes into them. The ashes are obtained from dry leaves gathered in the evening in complete darkness under trees deep within thickets, and at random and without looking.

To cure a malady called "strained back," one or several snake sinews are worn as a belt. A hen's craw, exposed to the sun for three days and then cut into thin slices and swallowed with all its contents, will develop an appetite for you for the rest of your days, to the point [752] of insatiability. For burns a poultice of rabbit fur and barbs of guinea-fowl feathers is the sovereign remedy.

To treat rabies, the Bambara have no need of the Pasteur Institute or serum. A person who has been bitten by a rabid dog climbs on a nearby bush, a friend comes and cuts it down, the whole thing falls and rolls on the ground, and rabies are no longer to be feared; they are entirely exorcised. A thread on which a cauri is strung, knotted [751] around the loins, protects a child from blackwater fever, and a string with seven or nine knots, called the tafo, when knotted around the neck, will save you from goiter, croup, laryngitis, a persistent cough, etc. The tafo is used in a general way, just /47/ like the kana; it is employed for almost all illnesses, and there is no malady that it

776 and for all, and since then He has simply lived, resting in sweet "idleness" .... Let us not think, however, that the Negro is without religion; he is excessively religious and he spends his life sacrificing, squandering flour, and scattering the blood of victims uselessly, for the sole benefit of vultures.

Believing that he can expect nothing from God, he calls upon the djiné or gnéna who are in charge of the elements, each having absolute power in its sphere. Doubtless the latter are unable to change the whole universal order established by the Creator and Soverign Lord of all things -- au tigi ("our Lord") ani fen /85/ bè tigi yé ("and Lord of all things") --, but they can grant a material (1) blessing, turn away

[782] 1. A Negro does not have the idea of asking a supernatural blessing.

a misfortune, and reward or punish.

The gnéna is reminiscent of the djin of the Koran (Chap. VI, XXX, VIII, XLI). It is a being intermediate between men and angels. "Ma si fa do do, it is a kind of man," say the Negroes, and in fact it does resemble a man since it eats, drinks, amuses itself, marries, and has children. /2/ Many even believe them /gnéna/ to be clothed,

2. In the sacrifices it is called ma, "man," and the name of the object in which it is found is added to this word. Thus ma djala ba, "great false-cedar man," etc. /No text reference to this footnote. Tr:/

and in the late evening it is not unusual to hear a storyteller /conteur/ say of them: "Sanou b'oufé. Wari b'oufé. Bagi fana b'oufé. They have gold. They have silver. They also have fabrics." Above all they have might!. They are powerful, and although some people wear 776 ●751 little bags of cloth or leather and strings with seven and nine knots -- as amulets --, and claws of wild animals, deer and goats horns, tafo

776 of leather wrapped in the hide of an anteater or monkey, etc. -- as
751 talismans -- which protect them from their blows; although there are diviners, sorcerers, and certain hunters and blacksmiths (noumou), etc., on whom these invisible beings have no hold, it is nonetheless true that they are feared, held in awe by all, that they are honored and their
776 good graces sought. Moreover, they give good luck, good fortune, and success to their friends and preserve them from a host of evils -- spells, sorcery, poverty, sickness, etc. -- springing from an enemy's rancor.

The worship of the gnéna, beings intermediate between angels and men, is among the oldest. Its origin is lost in the dark of the ages, and, unlike that of the boli or gnâ, of which I will speak later, it has no history. Since they are not all equally strong and powerful, I have divided them into three main groups: those that live in the bush, those that roam in the villages and their environs, and finally those that are really interested in the Bambara and actually protect them. /3/ /86/

3. See Anthropos, Vol. III (1908), part 4 /J. M. Henry, "Le Culte des esprits chez les Bambara (Spirit Worship among the Bambara). There is no text reference to this footnote which appears on text page 85. Tr./

2. Gnéna Who Dwell in the Bush

These /gnéna/ hide in thickets and perch on trees, and they are terrible only during the day, at high noon and in the greatest heat. Woe to him who at that time disturbs them in their walks, climbs on the trees they have chosen for a home, or tries to prune the branches on which they are frolicking or resting. They do not like children at all! For these little vandals, always running and climbing to catch lizards, rob nests, and stuff themselves with fruit, they have reserved violent headaches and stomach-aches. Often, too, they make them lame, blind, deaf and dumb, crazy, etc., and there is no village where one is not shown some of their victims (1).

The Bambara consult these sorcerers to find out the future and to draw their horoscopes or good luck. The fee for a seance is not at all unreasonable; it seldom exceeds the moderate sum of 40 cowrie shells, or one sou.

Concerning the Sirikoun

Every great boli includes an object called sirikoun. There are other sirikoun which are no longer parts of boli, but have become actual boli. The latter are hung at the waist and are always /156/ covered with a red cloth. Almost everyone owns them, although they are most frequently in the hands of the owners and sacrificers of great fetishes. They are usually ends of the tails of cows, horses, wild pigs, etc., and are often sprinkled with blood. They are sought in order to cast a spell or sorcery on an enemy, to make him sick, and even cause him to die, or again to protect oneself from a spell, sorcery, sickness, or death.

The sirikoun and the talking boli are fetishes belonging to individuals; they have neither festivals nor formal sacrifices, and they are not publically worshipped.

Chapter 8

The First Years in the Life of a Bambara

1. The Sexual Morality of the Bambara

Those who have seen the Bambara and have the slightest acquaintance with them will not hesitate to tell you: "They are liars and thieves." They certainly never pass up a chance to take the property of another, and they lie boldly and with such complete calm that not a muscle in their bodies flinches. This has always surprised

881 festival lasts as long as there is d'lo. After a few hours of sleep, before
796 the noon meal, the excised girls come back, and around the well there is an endless babel punctuated by joyous laughter as they wash their loincloths, the cloths soiled by the dust of the night, and as they mend gourds, the dishes of this country. The pure Bambara girls, those who are not of the blacksmith caste nor of the "Marka" people of more or less mixed stock, have lost their grace and beauty and seem quite comical with their shaved heads. Just as at six to eight days
[300] after birth the head of the village, the gnéna-n-sonnaba, priest of the dasiri fetish, made motions over their heads and cut their hair, since the "hair of the womb" is not allowed to be seen in public, so at the da woro, six days after circumcision, they lose it again, since they cannot enter life with the hair of childhood; a dirty handkerchief replaces the locks of which they were so proud, they are without bead or jewel, and on their foreheads, in place of the multicolored crown,
● [75] is the string with nine knots called the tafo, and it is fastened in back at the nape of the neck to the string called the djo, which is intended to protect them from sore throat, mumps, headache, and just about all illnesses.

4. The Festival of the Boloko Déou Don Bo, The Coming Out of the Circumcised and the Excised, The Real Entry into Civil and Religious Life

881 After the da woro, the festival of the sixth day, the circumcised
883 boys go back under the sacred tree outside the village, and the excised girls return to their huts. They take up again their life of "sweet idleness," and their little excursions in a group, at specified hours, to satisfy the wants of nature. They also have their days of big excursions. When the markets take place, they go to cut thorns at some 100 meters from the village. They bar the paths, set up /193/ a barricade, and ask every passer-by for a doua-mo, a share of the market. From habit, and especially from fear of the cuffings that are readily given out and of the spirits that watch over and protect the young people, everybody obeys and pays the toll. In addition to fish tails they also take in enough cowrie shells to buy a bit of meat and make themselves a treat.

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[823]

1. In the eyes of the Negroes this ceremony is not a bloodless sacrifice but a simple prayer; and the water is poured to give the words greater emphasis, since in their eyes it is the element without which nothing lives nor can live.

the wind blows from the west or the east, from the north or the south, may it be favorable to us. Give us a long life, many descendants, wives and prosperity." The audience answers, "Amina -- o dé ka ké (let it be so)," and, using hoes hafted in reverse so that the curve of the blade is on the outside, the youths fill the grave. The drums beat again, and the women clap their hands and improvise a song whose words usually can be reduced to these: "Our father is dead, we have been told he is dead. But he will come back! Young men, fill the grave well, so that no souba, no hyena, nor any wild animal can take away the corpse."

764 When the grave is filled, the one who is holding the strip of cloth attached to the blouse, or the shroud, of the deceased pulls it toward him until it tears and remains in his hands. This ribbon is a [151] precious relic of which tafo are made; they are a protection from a host of evils, especially throat ailments and gnáma. The coarse mat (tjékala or kara) which was the bed or the seat of the deceased, quite often together with his shoes and the small earthen pot that was his wash basin, are laid on the tomb. If the deceased was a woman, pieces of a gourd, fragments of a hearth, or the stick for stirring gruel (to-n-galama) are thrown onto the tomb instead of the wash basin. The pliant mat in which the corpse was wrapped is often given to a friend. The latter goes and burns it outside the village, or before entering his own village if he is a foreigner; he says: "Here is a mat on which no one will die from now on."

[777] Wednesday and Saturday are two unlucky days. On these days 764 strangers never present their condolences to the bereaved family, and 782 if a burial takes place, a small white chicken is killed and given to the deceased so that he can placate the spirits as soon as the grave